FREEDOM

An Anarchist Monthly

NEW SERIES, VOL. I, No. 18 DECEMBER, 1933 FIVE CENTS

OUR ANNIVERSARY

With this issue FREEDOM completes its first year. Although changing its form from a weekly of eight pages to one of four pages, skipping an issue during the summer, then to an eight-page monthly and finally —if it is finally—to eight pages of the present size, it remains the paper it started out to be. In view of this a few reflections may be in order.

Starting a weekly paper costing about $125 an issue with "a capital" of $20 and several hundred dollars pledged in the midst of the world's greatest depression was a necessary, if somewhat foolhardy undertaking. Of the necessity there will hardly be any dispute but as to the advisability the attempt will either be called courageous or foolhardy, according to the feelings of the individual.

There are multitudes of critics of the present economic set-up and fifty-seven different remedies. Encouragingly enough the critics agree, for the most part, that the cause of all the trouble lies in the inequitable distribution of wealth but they fall foul of each other as to the remedy. Some want a complete new deal, abolition of the profit system and the socialization of wealth, while others want to maintain the profit motive in one form or another with a change in the banking system, a special system of taxation or some other technique which the proponent thinks will bring about the desired change in the distribution of wealth.

In the turmoil of present day life, with the masses confused and puzzled by the contradiction of starvation in the midst of plenty and the various remedies proposed, the philosophy of the Anarchist is imperative as a corrective and a solvent. A philosophy based upon the principle that freedom of choice, and trial and error are the one safe and sane method of arriving at a proper and intelligent conclusion. For ourselves we believe in the "social heritage of the technical arts," advocated by Kropotkin and other anarchists a generation ago and now part of the theory of Social Credit. And we feel that any theory that fails to accept this as part of its fundamental principle cannot be a just one. This does not and should not imply that others who differ with that principle must believe in or accept our theory. Whether the ruling classes have stolen, monopolized, and so controlled their plunder "legally" or have stolen it first and legalized it later is not very important to us. What is important is that they stole it and that it should, and we hope will be, returned or will be taken back by the people in one way or another. To say that two girls of 21 years of age legally own millions of dollars for no other reason than that they happened to be related to men named Woolworth and Duke, means as much and as little to us as that a man named Wiggin stole, under cover of the law, millions of dollars from workers and producers in every walk of life. Without the State and organized government these things could not be. Ways and means are important to us but there is no assurance, if the State is left intact, that other ways and means may not be adopted whereby the people will be exploited as ruthlessly as they are now.

Prof. Goldschmitt, one of the exiled German scholars now in New York, said recently that the trouble with Germany right now is that there are not enough rebels there and further observed that when a nation can boast that a million men can march through the streets without a single one getting out of line something is fatally wrong with that people. So say we and, even if Anarchism were as impractical as many of its critics claim or imply it would still be necessary to advocate it, for the most positive virtue in any society is an understanding of the relation of the individual to his fellows. Surely no honest and reasonable person would insist that the individual owes something to society without at the same time pointing out what society owes to the individual. To live out one's days on the basis of freedom and fellowship; to admit not only the possibility but the probability of error in one's conception of what may be advisable or inadvisable in the social relations of man; to laugh at or fight, if need be, the claims of race superiority, ancestor worship or the "right" of one person or group of persons to exploit another person or group of persons; a society based upon voluntary cooperation with the right of secession inviolate at all times; a society which offers freedom of choice and experimentation for all individuals and peoples: this is the philosophy of Anarchism. To advocate it we need a paper; we need many papers. Is FREEDOM an intelligent exponent of that philosophy? Is it worthy of support? That is for you to answer.

Notes and Comments

Terzani Freed:

We have had the rare pleasure of seeing a carriage, rather than a miscarriage, of justice. On December 13th a jury in Queens County Court, having been out for only 32 minutes, brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty" in the case of Athos Terzani, anti-fascist accused of killing Anthony Fierro, another anti-fascist, at a meeting of the Khaki Shirts of America last July.

In view of the obvious bias of Judge Thomas Downs, who presided, the verdict was a distinct surprise. Art J. Smith, chief prosecution witness and the only one to definitely identify Terzani as the murderer, was allowed to testify without interruption and to retort at

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The Free Federal Council of Trade Unions in Japan—Report V

By E. K. NOBUSHIMA

National Conference of the F. F. C. T. U.

Owing to the reactionary wave in Japan, which is getting larger day by day, our movement has an adverse time of it. The annual congress of our affiliated unions in the Kwanto region (region around Tokio) convoked in April this year, was forbidden to take place. All publications, including every issue of our official organ *Worker's Journal* and the monthly magazine *Under the Black Flag*, were suppressed without exception and confiscated on sight. In this case our careful wordings to escape the censorship have proved to be of no avail. After a recent grand schism in the Japanese Communist Party (of which we will speak later), with which we had made united fronts on various occasions—especially in the May Day demonstration of this year—in opposition to the Social Democrats and the National Socialists, it comes about that ours are the only organizations which refuse to support Imperialism, so that persecutions are centering upon us.

In this situation we are forced to continue our activities mostly in secret and underground. Because of the impossibility of holding an open and legal Congress, we held a secret National Conference of delegates at Osaka, on June 17th to 20th this year. Delegates were sent from Tokio, Osaka, Kobe, Negoya and Niigata. The nine delegates who attended were in high spirits despite their difficulties.

At the Conference, both the objective situation and the subjective position of our movement were examined and discussed, and an opinion in favor of amalgamation with the Free National Federation of Trade Unions, another anarcho-syndicalist organization competing with ours, was expressed unanimously, shelving for awhile the minor controversies between two organizations in order to face effectively the raging reaction. Sympathy was expressed by the delegate for the "IWMA which, pitting itself against the authoritarian Second and Third Internationals, is hoisting bravely the standard of Anti-authority and free, autonomous, world-wide Solidarity of the revolutionary workers"; and for the "CNT which gave the working classes of the world the light of true emancipation." By the way, a Japanese edition of "The IWMA: Its Purposes; its Aims; its Principles," was published by us, illegally of course, in July of this year. The publication of a pamphlet on the history, constitution and principles of the CNT is also under consideration, and Rudolf Rocker's article, "IWMA and Principles of Socialism," has been translated and published together with a comrade's lecture on the "Economic theory of Ch. Cornelissen."

The Conference thanked Jean Grave, who was the only one to respond to our inquiry as to the relation between Syndicalism and Anarchism, dispatched last February to twenty-five organizations and persons. His opinion and answer were translated and presented to the Conference and all the delegates highly appreciated them. M. Grave's remarks will serve to pave the way for the proposed amalgamation of the two rival anarcho-syndicalist organizations in this country.

According to the report submitted to the Conference, the number of the unions represented was eight, with the members totaling 1420.

Two "Three-Antis" Movements

Advocating as immediate aims Anti-Fascism, Anti-war and Anti-unemployment, we made a united front with the Left Social Democrats and Communists. The Social Democrats as a whole refused to join us, declaring that they had their own Three Antis, namely, Anti-Fascism, Anti-Communism (also Anti-Anarchism) and Anti-capitalism. The Social Democrats could not accept the anti-war slogan, as you will easily understand.

Our United Front Committee protested against the barbarities committed by the Nazis in Germany and demanded the immediate liberation of Mooney and Billings. In the protest against the Nazis, we are in cooperation with liberal writers and thinkers who are aroused to safeguard civil rights and liberties.

The victory of the Nazis was applauded by reactionaries in this country, who found in it a moral support for their own cause, and a systematic driving out of liberal professors from the universities has already been started by them. Liberal writers and thinkers are menaced and shocked very much by this situation.

The Disorganization of the Japanese Communist Party

The public has of late been surprised by a declaration of repentance suddenly made from prison by Mr. Sano, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, and Mr. Nabeyama, deputy-Chairman. In their declaration they accused the Comintern of being a puppet of the Russian Government, and refused to conduct the anti-monarchical and anti-war campaigns dictated by the Comintern. According to their new convictions, it is the duty of every honest and revolutionary Communist that he should make every effort, first of all basing himself upon the "matchless superiority of the Japanese Nation," to construct a socialist society on a nation-wide scale and to thus lead such inferior nations as Korea, Manchuria, China, and even India, to revolt against European and American Imperialism. They termed the war waged by Japan against the "military chieftains" of China, and a war to be waged against America in order to recover Asia, progressive wars, and urged the working classes to take part in them—"provided the administrative and military machineries be transferred to the hands of workers and poor peasants."

This strange anti-international Communism, however, found a tremendous echo among the members of the Party, and about three hundred noted Communists pledged strict adherence to this new doctrine, throwing the Party into utter disruption.

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BOOK REVIEW

World Panorama 1918-1933, *by George Seldes. Little, Brown and Company. Boston,* 1933.

This interesting book might also be named "Not in the Headlines," as the bulk of the history given is that skipped by historians and the press in general. It should be used in high school and college along with the "respectable" histories. From the point of view of the Anarchist the author is found to be fair, as he speaks of Berkman's *Prison Memoirs* as being "one of the great human documents written in America." And in reference to the Kronstadt rebellion, "the disillusion which Bolshevism had brought to the people of Russia." Several references are made to Salsedo as an agent provocateur of the U. S. Government. No proof is given.

The stupidity of generals in the World War; specific lies printed in the press about the war and the peace; and many interesting facts about Hoover and Mussolini are given. Lenin's "will," in which he gives an analysis of the characters of Kamineff, Zinovief, Bucharin, Trotsky, and Stalin, should be read by our Communist friends. Lenin says of Stalin: "Stalin is a silly sort of person. This man aims at being dictator of Russia, a thing which would be a catastrophe if it were to happen. My successor should never allow, in any case, that this man be appointed secretary of the Communist Party"; and of Trotsky: "possesses considerable talent, but he is addicted to posing; he is the only one who is destined to become the leader of the Communist Party because he knows how to make himself respected and to maintain discipline."

Mention of Gandhi brings out the fact that along with spinning wheels and raisins a copy of Thoreau's *Duty of Civil Disobedience* was part of the arsenal brought to the London Conference. The author gives his opinion of Gandhi: "By passive resistance and fasting he had won as much or more for his people than any dictator in Europe and shown the power of non-violence to the world."

Ammon A. Hennacy

(*Continued from page* 2)

We cannot rejoice at the disintegration of Communism in this way. It comes about, however, that we are unable to put confidence in Communists as our mates in the struggle against Imperialism and Militarism. A regrettable thing indeed!
Tokio, August 15, 1933

SECOND BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF
FREEDOM
Free Workers' Center, 219 Second Ave.
SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 6, 1934
8:00 P.M. SHARP
Admission and Dinner—Fifty-five Cents

An Apology

By T. H. BELL

I have to offer an apology, the sincere and humble apology of a contrite heart. A year ago I was arguing with Rose Pesotta, telling her to disillusion herself, that the days of Anarchist leadership in the labor movement were gone by, that in this country henceforth our role would be merely an educational one.

This last week I paid a visit to the headquarters of the 3000 striking dressmakers here in Los Angeles. I found Rose there, bright and active as ever, attending to seven different things at once; I heard Goicolea talking to the Mexican girls, the only able Spanish speaker in the strike; I found Bessie at the typewriter, Pauline at the card-index, Clara at the coffe-urn, Marie cutting sandwiches, Loy wielding the broom, Tony washing dishes, Carl hauling picketers; a lot more of the group amongst the pickets, with our Julius acting as the Grand Panjandrum, running the building and repelling Communist raiders. Jule, since his accident, has only one fist and one finger and thumb to argue with, but the high hand he takes with those Communists, the fashion in which he confiscates by the five thousand their defamatory literature, the contumely he deals out to them, amount, I am afraid, to nothing short of a scandal. I took a little turn in the picket line myself, as the girls in it listened undismayed to the Red Squad's loud threats that every one of them would be arrested.

No, no, the Anarchists are not the only people in the fight—all sorts of fine people are lending a hand. I have seen some good strikes in my time, but never one with greater solidarity or more good comradeship. Mexican girls, Jewish girls, all sorts of girls, with the cutters and the other men employees—all are out, racial and religious prejudices quite forgotten, picketing with splendid courage and determination.

Our whole group is in it with the exception of only one, who disapproves. In that he has the support of an Anarchist editor visiting here just now.

I know all about the A. F. of L., all about it. I have several times been ejected without any politeness from the Labor Temple here. But when it is a question of a real workers' revolt, as this is, I would work for it even if it were led by the Catholics or the Communists. I am under no illusion as to the right-wing leaders; but at the present time, when it is often so difficult for us to join in a fight because of the Communists' constant claim to control and their threat of Rule-or-Ruin, an affair like this, in which the rights appear only on a level with the rest, appears to me a positive god-send as an opportunity. The worst possible policy for the Anarchists, to my mind, is to stay in their own corner and snarl. The ideal Anarchist group for me would be one the members of which were all so busy educating and agitating in other bodies that they could find time to see each other only once a month.

I present that apology now upon my knees and confess myself a year ago a mumbling, decrepit and pessimistic old crock. The strike has warmed up my old heart again.

FREEDOM

Successor to ROAD TO FREEDOM

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will to cross-examination; whereas defense witnesses were not only cross-examined by the District Attorney, but were repeatedly questioned from the bench. An indictment for perjury was asked against Samuel Wien, defense witness whose testimony at the trial contradicted that which he had given before the Grand Jury. The Judge, in an otherwise fair charge to the jury, dwelt upon this change, making no mention of the contradictions in Smith's testimony. And this brought about an even more astonishing phenomenon than the verdict itself: the jury offered, if necessary, to sign a statement expressing their conviction that Smith had lied upon the stand.

Appreciation should be expressed for the able services of Arthur Garfield Hays and the associated defense counsel.

Spain:

Last minute news from Spain, through the medium of the daily press, is that 80 have been killed and 250 injured in the five days' insurrection. The same press plays up stories of atrocities and vandalism, one of which concerns the burning of a library. Some of us with long memories recall the atrocities of Alfonso, Primo de Rivera and the Catholic Church during the past thirty-odd years, and the 65% illiteracy which never in all that time evoked a protest from these lovers of humanity and learning. The Pope, it seems, was pleased with the "Rightist" victory in the recent elections, as well he might be. He knows what it means —an attempt to revoke and destroy even the modest gains made and planned during the past two years. Without details we are unable to speak definitely as to the outcome of the present revolt, but our sympathies are with the revolutionists, and we hope they are successful in their struggle against the "Right" terrorists who would turn back the clock and restore dictatorship.

Cuba:

The struggle in Cuba continues and the situation is not promising. With more than a billion dollars of American capital invested there the U. S. government shows no signs of recognizing the present régime and the capitalist press tells us that if it does not do so within sixty days the present radical government will be unable to go on. Unless the Cuban army is totally different from all other armies the soldiers will revolt when they fail to get their pay and as Havana is not a productive city the likelihood is doubtful.

Radicals and Humor:

A comrade has sent a copy of the *Rocky Mountain News* of Denver, Col., with an article by Lee T. Casey entitled, "Rebels and Tear Jugs," asking us to comment on it. Casey says that he reads among other papers FREEDOM, *The New Masses*, *Daily Worker*, and two I.W.W. weekly papers and that our ineffectiveness is due to our lack of humor. We can and do agree with brother Casey that revolutionists and radicals lack humor, but we insist that it is pretty difficult for a man to laugh at such conditions as those described above. As a native of Missouri we will have to be shown that it is possible or even desirable to laugh when the snow is seeping through torn shoes or the wind howling through torn clothes to say nothing of standing in line with a tin cup for some slop called coffee. We doubt that even Casey would. To laugh at the stupidities of man is one thing but to laugh at his cruelties is quite another and we have our doubts that Voltaire laughed the French monarchy out of existence. Voltaire is reported to have said that it was the capacity of man to jest that prevented him from hanging himself but it took more than laughing to overthrow the French monarchy just as it did the Russian. Here is one for the book, Casey: in 1897, responding to a call from the comrades in Pittsburgh to come and help agitate among the unions there for a reduction of sentence for Alexander Berkman, I found myself hanging onto a ladder of a freight train as it entered that city. Suddenly the thought that I was coming there to denounce the Cargnegie Steel Company and all its works came to my mind and I laughed so much I nearly fell off the train. But then I was young and the weather was mild, which made a lot of difference.

Russia and the U. S.:

We have tried desperately to get excited over the restoration of diplomatic relations between Russia and the U. S. and have failed. Like the repeal of prohibition, it was discounted in advance. It is good to think of the people of the two countries being friends but that friendship existed in spite of Mathew Woll and other red baiters. The so-called economic benefits also leave us cold for the simple reason that Russia will have to borrow the money first and make the purchases after and then how will she repay the money? Not in gold, for she hasn't enough of it, and not in goods, for the tariffs will prevent that. Finally, as Anarchists, we are neither for nor against Russian "recognition." We have always recognized the Russian people as our friends and comrades in a common cause, the abolition of social and economic slavery. Incidentally, one of the by-products of recognition will be the deportation of many Russians now in this country to possible imprisonment or worse. How about that?

Hurdy Gurdy

By M. JAGENDORF

What Do You Say?

There is still room for Utopia, if nothing more than a dream of it—for example, an idealistic Anarchistic weekly or monthly. A paper expressing fine ideals, beautiful thoughts, constructive ideas to make the life of man better and happier. No yelping emphasis on the belly; no caterwaulings about particular grudges against Syndicalism, Individualism, Communism; Italians, Jews, or what not. Just a united effort, I say, to readjust our lives so that all may live peaceably and without fear.

Modern Nationalism, as glorified by the Mad Dog of Germany, is penetrating even the idealism of Anarchy. Now we have in our own narrow midst bellowing Mussolinis and kikeriking Hitlers. Unless we accept a particular brand of nationalistic Anarchy we are outside the pale! Aren't there enough men and women with an ideal of life applicable to all desiring to build up an organ of expression that can exist without howling down the next man or the next paper? . . .

THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL

What the Unions Could Not Accomplish:

The N.R.A. is decried not only by radicals, but by conservatives as well. There is a hotel, one of many, where waiters worked from eight in the morning until nine at night, sometimes later. Comes along the N.R.A. and says: Eight hours a day and no more. The hotel can no longer force the waiters to serve more than two meals a day, and another shift of men must be hired for the third meal; which doubles the force of the waiters and the cost. So the owners of the hotel are cursing the N.R.A. and those who thought of it. For in order to have the N.R.A. sign in the lobby the agreed schedule must be carried out. "But," says one of the smart owners, "we'll find a way out." Is there any beast as destructive as man!

Poor Little Bankers!

"Once upon a time one man's salary was $100 a week. He spent $75 of that and put $25 in the bank. Now comes along President Roosevelt and forces us to employ men for that same one hundred dollars at $25 each. They spend every damned cent of the money and nothing goes into the banks. The whole thing is crazy!" So weeps one of the bankers. Alas! so it is! And isn't it a pity? Now some genius like Mr. Wiggins will not be able to get $100,000 a year pension for having helped a murderer in Cuba named Machado to steal millions! That is a tragedy, isn't it!

Milestones:

There is Bridgeport! It has made the first breach in the Eastern New England capitalistic fortifications. Leigh Danenberg running the *Bridgeport Herald,* an amazingly liberal paper, sounded the call for the socialistic ticket from the day he acquired the paper. For years he has been pounding along on anything and everything left and liberal which came within his reach, and finally he pulled a prize. Another milestone shortening the distance towards a more humane existence.

What Mr. Phillips said at a meeting of the Moguls:

A meeting was called by the executive committee of the Board of Directors of the X Y Z industry. Mr. Phillips was not a member of the Board, though he is engaged in that particular industry, because he had the reputation of being a "red," a "communist." But right now the golden-spooned gentry were somewhat uncomfortable. They were going down to Washington to demand from the N.R.A. a reduction in the minimum wage from $14 to $12 a week. It might be of value, they thought, to get some pointers from Mr. Phillips. So he was called in—into the beautiful Jade Room of the Waldorf Astoria. There were present besides six high priests of the industry, but in that palatial chamber they made hardly an impression.

"Gentlemen," said Mr. Phillips, "you dare to go down to Washington to ask for a decrease from $14 a week to $12! Do you think you could eat a dinner such as you ate tonight on 12 or 14 dollars a week? Would you like your daughters to work for $12, etc.?"

There are some people in this world, who, if you spit in their faces, look up at the sky and ask if it is raining. So Mr. Phillips was called a Bolshevik, and the gentlemen of the executive committee went to Washington. No—they did not get the reduction.

President Roosevelt

. . . has an ideal. It may not be yours or mine, but it is an ideal. A dream to make safe the tottering, unfair, maladjusted, capitalistic economic system that is in existence today. That cannot be done—so I believe, but that does not alter the fact that it is his dream. But even his effort, small as it seems to those who have a bigger vision, is obstructed by thieves and murderers —for to take away the opportunity to live in peace and without fear is no less than murder.

TOBACCO ROAD

Don't miss it, this play by Jack Kirkland, made from Erskine Caldwell's book. You will see in it the most marvelous acting that has ever been seen in New York, not excluding Maurice Schwartz, the Russian Art Theatre or the Habima Players. Henry Hull impersonating Jeeter Lester, a "cracker"—the poor white trash of humanity in the state of Georgia,—"by God and by Jesus" is worth traveling ten thousand miles to see. It is superb! Who said America does not have great actors! The tale is the most damning indictment of our social conditions in the South. Thievery, incest, murder, beastly inhumanity . . . you may rake the dictionary for all the synonyms of these words and they will not be enough. It is a slice of American life more bitter than gall, as dreadful as lynching. . . . And, what a magnificent performance by the actors!

A True Rebel Passes Away

Philip Grosser, who attracted nation-wide attention as a Conscientious Objector in 1917 for his fearless and courageous stand against war, and survived untold sufferings and tortures in the military prisons of Leavenworth and Alcatraz, was killed here by an elevated train on October 18th. He was 42 years of age.

He was well known from coast to coast by all who were at any time interested in defense and relief work for class-war and political prisoners. Tirelessly, and in the Jimmie Higgins style, he was always doing something for somebody behind the bars, or for anybody who needed it on the outside.

Right up to the time of his death he was corresponding with Tom Mooney, McNamara, Billings, Shmidt, and many others in the different prisons.

Belonging to the Anarchist school, believing in the class struggle, Philip Grosser was a staunch union man. At one time he was a member of the I.W.W. In later years he was active in Local 11 of the Painters Union, where he was respected, feared and hated by the labor fakers. He was also a member of the Boston Central Labor Union, representing the Painters Local. He was always at odds with the politicians and labor skates. Though things looked dark at times and it seemed that he was fighting a losing battle, yet he never lost courage and kept up the fight to the last. He was well known and respected for his integrity and honesty, even by those who did not agree with him politically or otherwise.

He was laid at rest Friday, October 20th.

Appropriate speeches were made at the grave by Alice Stone Blackwell, noted liberal, and by Michael Flaherty, Secretary of the Painters' Union. The radical movement has lost one of its truest fighters and supporters. His untimely death is a terrible blow to all of us who knew him.

James Phillips, Boston, Mass.

Stephanus Fabijanovic

San Francisco, Nov. 8, 1933

Dear friends:

On this day we have surrendered to the flames our Stephanus. On the night of October 28th-29th he suffered a stroke which paralyzed his left side. On Tuesday he was brought to the hospital, where his brave life companion was given hope of his recovery, since control over the affected muscles seemed gradually to come back. Full of life, on Friday he was advising his comrade not to forget to bring him his shoes as he was intent upon going to a meeting the next day at the home of Comrade Jaffe. Later the same night another hemorrhage flooded his brain, and he lapsed into a coma from which he was never more to waken, passing away at 6 o'clock Monday morning.

The comrades came in good numbers to the funeral hall, Comrade Downing speaking for organized labor, Slovak for the outcasts and as mere man. At the crematory Slovak spoke once more, followed by old faithful Bell who tendered parting greeting on behalf of the ever dwindling number of the old guard. Our comrade leaves a courageous companion, and he will remain unforgotten in the memory and in the hearts of the comrades of all lands. His manuscripts, a gigantic work of toil of a never resting bee of labor, will, after awhile, find repose in the Labadie Library of Ann Arbor University, where students and workers of a future time of greater thoroughness in sociological studies than afforded by our present days of superficiality and speed, may use them as valuable material.

Stephanus Fabijanovic, your all-loving, warm heart has ceased its beat; your burning brain, thirsty for knowledge, heavy as a storm-cloud flashed with lightning, has had to surrender against its will. A bold, unconquered and uncompromising pioneer and prospector in freedom's cause has ascended through the flames to imperishable light.

Slovak

Letters to the Editor

November, 1933

Editors of FREEDOM:

Please allow me space to refute the statements contained in that lying book *The Bomb,* by Frank Harris. When the book was first published I was shocked and surprised at the audacity of the statements it contained, and I had 10,000 leaflets printed and distributed, many through the mail, to refute them.

I will prove that *The Bomb* is a lie, from cover to cover. It is important that now, on the 46th Anniversary of the martyrdom of our comrades the facts regarding the Haymarket meeting should be made known.

To begin with, *The Bomb* purports to be a "history" of the events leading up to, and the identity of the person who threw the bomb at the Haymarket meeting. A pretty serious statement, that, that the person is known. I have always stated in my addresses on the eleventh of November, and shall do so again this year, that "the person who threw the bomb at the Haymarket is absolutely unknown."

I have had many persons come to me after I have spoken and say, "Why, Mrs. Parsons, how can you make such a statement? Have you never read *The Bomb?*"

Harris claims in *The Bomb* that in some mysterious way, not made clear, he, Harris, received a dying confession from Rudolph Schnebelt that Louis Lingg, one of our martyred comrades, made the bomb that Schnebelt hurled at the Haymarket meeting. He has Lingg speaking fluent English, when everything he said had to be translated, word for word, when he delivered his famous speech in court after sentence of death was pronounced upon him.

Why Harris didn't even know that Michel Schwab, one of the defendants, had married Schnebelt's sister. According to his story, after Schnebelt had thrown the bomb, Lingg got him aboard a train and started him off and he later showed up in Mannheim, Germany, where Frank Harris got his "death-bed confession"!—Only spoiled by the fact that Schnebelt was

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IN ANSWER TO CARL NOLD

Route 1, Craryville, N. Y.
Detroit, Mich. November 27, 1933

My dear friend:

Your letter to *Man!* concerning the possibility of combining the present scattered anarchist press called for an expression of opinion from the various papers. As one of the editors of *Mother Earth* here is my reply:

As I understand it the purpose of an anarchist press is two-fold: first, to express the many shades of Libertarian thought; second, to gain new adherents to libertarianism. It may be that a single paper could effect this purpose as well as the several we now have, but I doubt it. Certainly, it might be more successful financially, for awhile, but unless you let every member of the anarchist movement take his turn at being editor, sooner or later you will have new papers springing up everywhere. It would be impossible to satisfy all ideas as to what an anarchist paper should be. Personally I feel that FREEDOM, *Man!*, *Mother Earth*, *The Vanguard* and the others represent the libertarian movement much better separately than they could possibly do under any attempt to combine them; and I do not believe it possible that such an attempted reconciliation of differing ideas could succeed.

As far as finances are concerned, the amount of money spent on *Mother Earth* in one year would barely pay for printing a single issue of a larger paper. So I don't believe that we form much of an obstacle to a project of that sort in so far as money is concerned.

It seems such a pity to me that there should be even a hint of discord between our publications. Speaking for myself, I should say that I should be sorry to see any one of them disappear, even those whose policy is entirely opposed to my own. Let's try to promote a friendlier spirit between us, and let acrimonious personalities alone.

In all sincerity, Jo Ann Wheeler

Dear Comrade:

In answer to your suggestion will say my idea is that there is no anarchist movement in America today. In order to build such a movement I'd like to see some two-score small monthly anarchist papers digging their roots into new ground among our people. These would have to be supported primarily by people outside the regular groups. When enough new ground is cleared we could easily draw support for a weekly, perhaps even a daily, anarchist publication. However, the movement for the weekly should start at once. It must be from the ground up on a foundation of economy. I suggest the following for a start: (1) appoint a board of management; (2) select a site where overhead costs will be nothing, a free gift; (3) find provision for land for the printer-editor to work, for a part of his living; (4) find the printer-editor who will live on this site, work the soil, print and edit the paper, in connection with the board of management; (5) I suggest Sunrise Colony, near Detroit, as a possible site for future operations; (6) lacking any other way out, I propose starting a colony to build a paper as we once did to build a school.

Fraternally for Freedom, John G. Scott

(*Continued from page* 6)

at that very time alive, living in one of the western states of America, and had a family of grown children. This I know to be a fact. If this bomb-throwing stuff is correct, Judge Gary's ruling was good law. He said, "Where a number of conspirators combine, and murder results, each one is equally guilty."

Lucy E. Parsons

We can understand our comrade's desire to correct the statements of Frank Harris, but we think she is unduly alarmed, for no one reads him any longer—if he isn't already forgotten, he soon will be. T. H. Bell can tell a good deal about him. H. K.

Editors of FREEDOM: Los Angeles, Calif.

In a recent issue of FREEDOM an attempt was made to belittle the intelligence of a small group of modern anti-authoritarians by claiming to have "whipped into shape" (for better or worse) the language used in a manifesto entitled "A Call to Action" as published in the May issue of FREEDOM. . . .

The interpretation of democracy, of liberty, of unionism and the new social order, as outlined in the manifesto, are absolutely the understanding and explanation of those who signed the "ringing" "Call to Action." None others need "feel flattered" because of any interpolated matter whatsoever.

Julius Bohlem

Editors of FREEDOM: Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Comrades:

In that letter of mine you printed in the October number dealing with the Industrial Unionist Conference there are several typographical errors, one of which puts me in a very ridiculous situation. You make me speak of "*my* manifesto of the Revolutionary Syndicalists." "*My*" manifesto! I have not published any manifesto, nor even signed one; and I am not a Revolutionary Syndicalist, though I very gladly work with them now when the difference appears to me one of but very small practical importance. I mentioned my little connection with the "Call to Action," published in your May number, merely to show that though advocating something else my attitude was still very friendly. In the carbon copy I retained of my letter I find not "my" but "the"; the manifesto was, of course, the manifesto of the comrades who signed it, whose names you published with it at the time, and some of them, like myself, must have stared in no small astonishment when they saw that "my." Fortunately for me their secretary had read the letter before I sent it off.

T. H. Bell

We regret very much the mistakes in comrade Bell's copy, but not having saved the corrected proofs do not know whether the fault was ours or the proofreader's. We assume that it was ours and are very sorry.

(*Continued on page* 8)

ANNOUNCEMENTS

ANARCHIST
LECTURES AND OPEN-FORUM
(In English)
FREE WORKERS' CENTRE
219 Second Avenue, New York City

WEDNESDAYS—LECTURES

December 20th.....*The Role of the Racketeer*
By WALTER STARRETT

December 27th ....*Is Communism the Way Out?*
Debate Between SAM WEINER and JULIUS MASTIN

January 3rd .....*Current Events*
By HARRY KELLY—*Editor of* FREEDOM

January 10th .....*The Open Road*
By LUCILLE TERRY DONOGHUE

January 17th..*Revolution, Social or Proletarian?*
By ABBA GORDIN, *Editor of "The Clarion"*

January 24th .....*Anarchist Portraits*
By HIPPOLYTE HAVEL

January 31st .....*Subject to be Announced*
By TOM WRIGHT

SUNDAYS—OPEN FORUMS

December 24th.....*The Negro*
By GLENN CARRINGTON

December 31st .....*Anarchism, Socialism and Communism* By DR. D. GLOBUS

January 7th..*Mutual Aid in Nature and Evolution*
By WERNER MARCHAND

January 14th ....*Corrupt Roman Catholic System*
By JOHN KANALY—Ex-Brother Lucian

January 21st .....*War and Revolution*
By JACK FRAGER

January 28th .....*Psychology of Suggestion*
By STANLEY GORDON

The following are FREEDOM's *Monthly Pledges:*

$5.00 Michael A. Cohn, Marc Epstein
$2.00 D. Isacovitz, Harry Kelly, Dr. M. Jagendorf
$1.00 Sarah Cohen, Minnie Schwartz, Jack Frager, Claire Comorau, Tania Schapiro, Anna Strahl, Elsie Kelly, Liza Brilliant. WHO'S NEXT?

FINANCIAL REPORT—DECEMBER

INCOME:	
Cash on Hand	$ 9.65
Loan	100.00
Gathering—November 25, at Centre, N. Y.	6.35
$5.00 Pledges M. Cohn, M. Epstein	10.00
$2.00 Pledges Dr. Jagendorf	2.00
$1.00 Pledges S. Cohen, Frager, Claire, D. Pearl, L. Brilliant, E. Kelly (2 mos.)	7.00
$2.00 Contributions A. Levin, Los Angeles; A. Gaspar, Massachusetts	4.00
$1.00 Contributions M. Tibaldi, Canada; Ethel Ostroff, Wash.; A. Patricie, Conn.	3.00
Miscellaneous	.20
Total Income	$142.20
EXPENSE:	
Marstin Press—November Issue	$ 60.00
Mailing November FREEDOM	11.00
Expense on Loan	5.00
Deposit on Hall for Annual FREEDOM Ball	5.00
Printed Stationery	5.00
Postage and Stationery—Miscellaneous	1.07
Total Expense	$ 87.07
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE:	
Balance Due Marstin Press	$379.53
Balance Due on Loan	100.00
Balance Due Comrade	10.00
Total Debts	$489.53
Cash on Hand	55.13
Total Deficit to December 15, 1933	$434.40

Please hurry along your pledges, contributions, etc., to FREEDOM, P. O. Box 111, Station O, New York.
IT IS A DESPERATE STRUGGLE, BUT WE MUST GO ON!

(*Continued from page* 7)

FREEDOM is a movement paper and as such deals with ideas. For this reason we cut out the "personal" part of comrade Bohlem's letter. Let us save all our hate and venom for the system we are trying to destroy, and not waste time, energy or emotion in calling each other names. H. K.

Harry Kelly, N. Y. City. Nov. 20, 1933

Friend:

Your review of *Bankers vs Consumers*, in October FREEDOM, demonstrates the truth of your statement that you "have paid scant attention to the money question." No one who understands the money question can see anything rational in the theory of "Social Credit" of the "New Economics Group." They do not know why we need a monetary medium, nor the function of such a medium. The enclosed article, "The Defect in Our Monetary System, and the Remedy," explains these points and thereby knocks the ground from under the "Social Credit" theory.

The equitable distribution of wealth waits on the equitable distribution of work (human service). Harmony in human associations can never exist as long as some rule others, and some will rule others just so long as we attempt to measure our services for each other by any other medium than the duration of those services. Stick a pin there. Turn that over in your mind and see if you can think of any other equitable method of exchanging the services we perform for each other. Exchanging on any other basis puts a price on what is not human work, thus *compelling* those who work to pay the price to serve others without being served in return—which is the rulership of some by others. Think this over and see if you find a way to refute it. Anarchists, to be consistent, will have to accept the duration-of-human-work method of price-fixing. The Equitist Way is the only perfectly non-coercive form of human association ever yet offered the world. Henry Bool accepted it and contributed liberally to *The Equitist.* Sincerely, W. E. Brokaw

The article mentioned consists of close to eleven thousand words. We have read it and found it merely an elaboration of the above letter. You want, as we understand it, nothing more nor less than an exchange of products hour-for-hour irrespective of quantity or quality, with no man's labor worth more or less than that of the next man. If that is what you want it is O. K. with us, and in a free state you can withhold your product until you find others willing to exchange with you on that basis. For ourselves we prefer, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." Yes, Brother Brokaw, according to his *needs.* And we still think Mr. Mallon's book pretty good. "Stick a pin there." H. K.